

STATINTL

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SUMMARY OF THE YUGOSLAV PRESS

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MARSHAL TITO RECEIVES M. JOZEF BRAKOP

Yesterday morning Marshal Tito received M. Jozef Brakop, member of the Politburo of the Belgian Socialist Party and President of the town of Anderlecht and discussed various subjects with him. Present at the meeting was Vladimir Dedić, Secretary of the Commission of the CC CPY for International Questions.

(BORBA - 31st October, 1951).

COMRADE VELJKO VLAHOVIC RECEIVES THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR

(Belgrade, 31st October)

At half past twelve today Veljko Vlahovic, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, received the newly-appointed British Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary Sir Ivo Mallet. (Tanjug)

(BORBA - 1st November, 1951).

MARSHAL TITO RECEIVES REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY

At 5 p.m. yesterday the President of the Federal Government, Marshal of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, received leading members of the French Socialist Party. He saw M. Albert Gazier, People's Representative and former Minister of Information and his wife, Dr. Leon Boutbion, People's Representative and M. Andre Eer, General Director of the Co-operative Agency for Information BEDAF.

Marshal Tito discussed various topics with his French visitors.

(BORBA - 1st November, 1951).

MARSHAL TITO'S REPLY TO AN INVITATION FROM MEMBERS OF THE FIRST PROLETARIAN DIVISION

In reply to an invitation from the officers and men of the 1st Proletarian Division to take part in the celebration of the 9th anniversary of their foundation, on the 1st November, Marshal Tito replied:

"I have received the invitation to the celebration of the 9th anniversary of the 1st Proletarian Division. It is not possible for me to take part in it. I send you a warm soldier's greeting and warm congratulations to all officers and men, with the wish that you will follow faithfully every example of the celebrated 1st Proletarian Brigade. Death to the Fascists, freedom to the people".

JOSIP BROZ TITO

(BORBA - 1st November, 1951).

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SEMINAR FOR FOREIGN STUDENTS WILL BE HELD IN YUGOSLAVIA

Benjamin Stalvey, representative of the Quaker organisation in Europe, who is at present spending a few days in Belgrade, proposed to the Central Committee of the People's Youth in Yugoslavia that, with the help of the Quaker organisation, they organise a seminar in our country for the coming summer for students from various countries. Problems from the political and social life of the world would be discussed at this seminar. The Quaker organisation organises similar seminars in other countries every year. At the seminars held this year in Holland and in France representatives of the student federation of Yugoslavia were present.

The representatives of the national students' union of England and the USA are sojourning in Belgrade as guests of the Central Committee of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia and the Students' Federation. They will hold discussions with the members of our National Student Federation for the purpose of closer personal co-operation and for the development of cultural, sport and other ties with our student organisation. (Tanjug)

(BORBA - 1st November, 1951).

DELEGATES FROM MOROCCO AND ALGIERS VISIT REIS-UL-ULEMA IN THE FPRY

Haci Ibrahim effendi Fajic, supreme head of the Moslems in Yugoslavia, yesterday received Ahmed Alui, delegate from Morocco, and Mohammed Rehal, newsman of the Slobodni Alzir publication. They were interested in religious freedom in Yugoslavia, the position of the Moslems, and the material aid which the state is giving to the servants of the Moslem religion.

They also visited the Vice-President of the Government of PR Bosnia and Hercegovina, Avdo Humo.

(BORBA - 1st November, 1951).

IN ZONE ACENSUS FORMS STILL PRINTED IN ITALIAN ONLY

In connection with the census of the people living in the Anglo-American Zone of the FTT, the Primorski Dnevnik writes that the census forms are still being printed in the Italian language only, while directions are printed in Slovenian too. Therefore we are again asking the Anglo-American Military Government, whose duty it is, in the name of the United Nations Organisation, its charter and the democratic provisions for the preservation of peace, to eventually abolish all injustices aimed at the Slovenes in Trieste and to undertake all the necessary measures to place the Slovenes of Trieste on equal footing with the Italians. (Tanjug)

(BORBA - 1st November, 1951).

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MARSHAL TITO'S REPLIES TO QUESTIONS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE HOME AND FOREIGN PRESS AT A PRESS CONFERENCE LASTING FOUR HOURS

In the White Palace yesterday Marshal Tito held a press conference at which were present about 120 representatives of the Yugoslav and foreign press. The conference began at 9.30 a.m. and lasted about four hours. In the course of a long conversation Marshal Tito answered questions on internal matters and on foreign policy.

Members of the French, American and Swedish delegations of journalists, who are visiting our country, were present at the conference as well as about 20 foreign journalists who had attended the Peace Assembly at Zagreb; also present were the permanent accredited foreign correspondents in our country, who represent the newspapers and agencies: New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Associated Press, United Press, Reuter, France Presse, DPA, ANSA and the London correspondent of the BBC.

Mitar Bakic, Director of the Information Directorate of the Government of the FPRY, Ivo Sarajcic and a large number of representatives of the home press were also there.

Questions in connection with the discussions at the Peace Assembly

Question: At the Peace Assembly in Zagreb a number of delegates from foreign countries said that it would be a good thing if various nations would not unite in large blocs and if they would create a third bloc. In connection with this Yugoslavia and India were mentioned. What are your views on this question?

Answer: I think it would be a mistake to do such a thing, that is to say to create a third bloc. If there were three blocs the situation would be even more complicated. I consider that with such a third bloc it would be necessary to build up a progressive force which would fight for peace. From this it follows that the question which now faces the two existing blocs is capable of a peaceful solution. We are entirely opposed to blocs but since they are a fact and already exist we must work to lessen the conflict which otherwise will eventually come about. Only an alliance of all progressive forces and all countries on the question of peace, on the question of peaceful and friendly co-operation between all countries and on the question of the independence of all countries, large and small, - only by agreement on these questions, in our opinion can such an alliance come about. That is the conception of those who are today considering a third bloc. This conception is not of the third bloc at all but of a union of progressive forces working for a solution of the questions which torture the world today.

Question: I want to know what the Marshal thinks of the statement by Dr. Vidmar at the Zagreb Peace Assembly, that the Atlantic Pact is the legitimate and necessary answer of the Western Powers to Soviet policy.

Answer: I know very well that Vidmar said in Zagreb that the Atlantic Pact is the logical consequence of the policy of the Soviet Union and of those countries who are under her domination. That is what Vidmar meant. I must say that I am of the opinion that it is the logical consequence of Soviet policy.

The Director of the Paris newspaper Franc Tireur then asked whether the Yugoslav Government and the Yugoslav people believed that the idea of remaining neutral, which is current in Europe, was a bad one.

Answer: That has already been shown in my statements and in those of Approved For Release 2002/08/15 : CIA-RDP83-00415R010400040010-0 today is a single complete, indivisible thing and it would not be possible for any one country to remain neutral if war came.

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Relations with the U.S.A. and the Atlantic Pact countries

To the question of the correspondent of the American agency, the Associated Press, reading: "Would you kindly tell us your opinion on future relations of Yugoslavia with the U.S.A. and countries of the Atlantic Pact", Marshal Tito gave the following answer:

"No essential changes can take place in this respect in our country. Relations will remain as they are but the economic and cultural cooperation with those countries shall be improved even more. With regard to all the questions of the international character - not with respect to the Yugoslav internal, but only with respect to the international problems which are not conflicting with our principles - we will cooperate also with countries forming the Atlantic Pact."

Question: (of the representative of the Radio London) Do you believe that the return of Churchill to power in England should affect relations of Yugoslavia with England and in what way?

Answer: In so far as I can judge from declarations given by Mr. Churchill before his return to power, I believe that relations will undergo no changes and that the policy of the British government in this respect will not differ from the policy of the Labor government when these relations improved.

Question: Do you consider that the acceptance of the military aid from the U.S.A. represents a profound change of your policy?

Answer: I don't know what the people mean when they are speaking about essential changes in our policy. We are conducting a policy which is in the interest of independence and protection of our country, and in the interest of strengthening our country in general. At the present stage, we have been obliged to apply for aid also in armaments from America, England and France. Consequently, it is not the question of change of policy, but a logical continuation of our policy resulting from an aggressive attitude of the Soviet Union and Cominform countries towards our country. We are doing everything possible in order to permit our country to develop peacefully without making any political or other concessions with respect to our country.

Question: (of the representative of the Associated Press)
What kind of military aid have you applied for from the U.S.A.?

Answer: We have requested from them everything that we have not in sufficient quantities or that we are lacking at all, particularly heavy armaments, mounted artillery, guns and planes. With respect to small arms, we are in a rather good situation for we are producing them ourselves. I must add here that we also received a fair quantity of small arms, ammunition, and so on.

Question: When do you intend to sign the pact on mutual assistance with the U.S.A.?

Answer: It is not the question at all of signing a treaty on mutual assistance, but of signing an agreement on extension of assistance to Yugoslavia and on armaments from the U.S.A.

Another American newspaperman asked then what is America going to get for the armaments it is supplying to Yugoslavia.

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Answer: America is getting something for the past few years. The resistance of Yugoslavia is not a matter concerning only Yugoslavia; our Army of 1948 has not been protecting only peace and security of Yugoslavia and it has not been only an armed factor which, respected by every aggressor, benefited only Yugoslavia, but it has also been a factor benefiting America and all other countries that have been for a peaceful development. Therefore, the question: "What will America get" should not be asked. America has on its side a friendly country on which it can rely in case of aggression somewhere and if aggressors should try to subjugate other peoples. This matter is not a concern only of America, but of all European countries. I believe that one is sometimes forgetting that important factor.

Question: (of the representative of BORBA) In one of his previous declarations, comrade Marshal spoke about arming of the Cominform neighbours of Yugoslavia and on violation of the Peace Treaty on their part. What is the situation now in that respect in view of the aggressive tendencies on their part?

Answer: Naturally, after the disruption with the Soviet Union and Cominform, their propaganda addressed incessant threats to Yugoslavia. But that has not been all. They switched to the definite threats with the armed force, expressed in the form that the Soviet Union began arming intensively all the satellite countries, above all, Bulgaria, Roumania and Hungary. I don't believe it is worth to speak here about Albania. As a result of such arming, there is a change in the relation of force. In 1949, and even in 1950, we have been stronger not only with respect to morale, but also with respect to the number of men and to armaments. This ratio is now undergoing a change. Naturally, not in respect of the moral force, but with respect to the armaments and number of men. Those satellite countries are now getting armaments from the USSR rather lavishly and their armies number from 850 to 900 thousand men, and with the police up to a million. That is a threatening force which is a danger to our country and peace of the world.

Question: (of the representative of the FRANC TIREUR) I hope I am not indiscrete in asking whether negotiations with General Collins have been satisfactory and whether the present disequilibrium of which you spoke between the armed forces of Yugoslavia and satellite countries could in near future be reduced or completely eliminated?

Answer: Negotiations with General Collins proved to be satisfactory. General Collins understood our specific position in accordance with which we will conform our agreement on supply of armaments. With respect to the armaments we are getting in connection with the altered relations in armed forces between us and neighbouring countries which are arming rapidly, I would not ask when are we to be equal to or stronger than. We are not arming for waging a war. We do not intend to attack anybody nor do we intend to follow a race in armaments. We are not concerned so much with the question of accumulating arms, but we are concerned with the question of having armaments for the already existing army, of having them in sufficient quantities to defend and in case of necessity to be able to defend our country. An armament race is always a dangerous thing. We cannot and will not participate in an armament race with our neighbours and with those, the so-called their great protectors. But, similarly, we do not want to lag behind them in respect of technology. The morale of our army is at a high level, and if we were to furnish it with as many modern technical means as possible, we will be able to prevent aggression, that is, subjugation of our country.

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Prospects of peace.

Q.: All free and peace-loving nations, including the people of France, are worried to-day because of the present international situation. They would, therefore like to hear from you is the war really prepared and will it break or are we living only in a war of nerves?

A.: I think that people rightly fear that war may come and that such danger exists. But I still consider that there is no reason for despair, because we have not yet reached that stage when the world war is at the door side. In it we shall not come if we do all we can to acquaint the aggressor beforehand with consequences which await him in case of aggression. The war of nerves still exists and it is probable that it will last for a certain time, and I would not like to be a prophet and to say that the war will come or the peace will be preserved.

Q. (correspondent of Vjesnik): By USSR and its satellites as well as by peace movement under its control the question is being raised for quite a while about forming a Five Power Pact. What is concealed behind this initiative of USSR and on whom does USSR think it can rely for such a pact?

A.: The tendency of Soviet Union in forcing the creation of a Five Power Pact consists in the first place to destroy the United Nations. Illogical policy of Soviet Union exists here too: on one hand, it sheds hypocritic crocodile tears for enslavement of colonial and semi-colonial peoples, and on the other completely ignores the existence of small countries, not only colonial and semi-colonial, but the completely independent and agrees with the Teheran policy, that is the policy of spheres of interest. The goal of USSR is Five Power pact which would make possible the division of spheres of interest in order to enslave countries which would come under its domination and to rule with a rod and iron. In this lies the essence of this tendency of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, I am afraid that this call of the Soviet Union, the voice for creating that pact has not come upon such resistance as it should come from great powers. Small countries, small states have to fight with all their efforts against such attempts for creating Five Power Pact, because that would be tragedy for mankind, because it would sooner or later bring to new world massacre. With this peace would not be saved.

Q. (correspondent of Medjunarodne politike): Recently the world press is occupied with the so-called appeasement to USSR and producing as examples for this the initiatives of agencies in Germany and Korea. What does comrade Marshal think about these initiatives and to what purpose do they serve. Does it deal with appeasement or something else?

A.: I consider that all this relates to the peace offensive before the meeting of the United Nations in Paris. As far as I am concerned, I do not look upon this as a serious matter. As far as I know they often make manoeuvres in this way when they want to achieve a certain aim, a certain effect. They are enough tensile and wise to find always possibilities to spring to offensive and the Western countries are in a position of defence. The who defends himself is in a difficult position than one who attacks.

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A Swedish journalist put the question about tasks of small nations in respect of preserving their independence and further economic and social development.

A.: I consider that it is absolutely necessary for small nations to work together in the closest possible way within United Nations on carrying out the provisions of the United Nations Charter. The question is not about creating some bloc, because there is international platform which offers possibilities to positively, as quickly as possible and in a peaceful way solve various important international questions, which concerns small nations. Small nations can play a great part in preventing a new world war, if they are united in the fight against attempts of aggression and for peace, if they will jointly fight for equal relations among great and small countries. Those are the very elements which usually cause wars. Small nations can greatly contribute to preserve peace and to bring such solutions as the mankind to-day wishes.

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Relations with Italy and the Trieste Problem .

Answering to a question by the representative of the Associated Press concerning the Trieste Problem, Marshal Tito declared:

" I would not like to make here a statement concerning the solution of the Trieste Problem because the concrete question of beginning talks concerning this problem will begin very shortly. There are no new moments. The only thing I can say is that I hope and believe that this problem will be solved satisfactorily."

An Italian correspondent asked then Marshal Tito what he thinks about Yugoslav-Italian relations.

A. : " I did not have the intention to comment to-day upon the relations between Italy and Yugoslavia in order not to be forced to mention certain elements which hinder the normal development of relations and the approaching of the solution of the Trieste Problem. But , as this question has been posed already, I would like to point out here one thing. I am somewhat worried about the way these problems are treated in Italy and in the Italian Press. Namely I do not see good-will in some quarters in Italy to set up with Yugoslavia some normal and bearable relations. We do not ask them to be God knows how friendly but we consider that they should be better, because there are many things which interest both countries, particularly in the present phase of danger of war. I am surprised at such a thing as the staged trial of fighters. From the point of view of the Peace Treaty it is wrong to call to book now those who fought against fascists. The trial is their internal affair, but it seems as if they have with this trial put Yugoslavia on the defendant's bench, as if they have put on this bench our armed forces and our Command, which is mentioned there as one of the culprits for the acts of Italian partisans.

Further, the sharpness of the campaign led by the Italian Press represents an element of new departure and discord. I think that another way should be found, a way of rapprochement of our two countries. Because , vollens nollens both Yugoslavia and Italy will continue to remain side by side. They cannot separate from each other, they cannot turn the back to each other and go each on their own way. These two countries must look at further perspectives and not only as it is to-day. I consider that by looking toward further perspective little things can be sacrificed for a great thing, and it is a great thing to create friendly relations between countries which are side by side, which can and should supplement each other both economically and culturally. "

The representative of the paper Corriere di Trieste asked if Yugoslavia is against the creation of the FTT.

A. " I would not like to comment upon this matter, because at the forthcoming session of the United Nations there exist possibilities of direct talks between the representatives of Italy and Yugoslavia concerning the problem of Trieste. I hope and believe that this will happen and every statement by me in connection with this could introduce only some elements which might be ill -commented upon, which would prevent the right solution of their question. I am of the opinion that the Trieste Problem should be solved mutually between Yugoslavia and Italy.

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Relations with Greece, Turkey, Austria and the Vatican

Q. : In regard to the military pressure exerted upon Yugoslavia by the satellite countries, does Yugoslavia think about some agreement with Greece and Turkey? I do not think here about formal political agreements but about practical arrangements for defense.

A. : " Even to-day we say that we do not think to create some pacts, and not even regional pacts with Greece and Turkey. It is a fact that the danger which threatens Yugoslavia is threatenig also Greece. Aggression in any part of Europe means World War, and therefore aggression against Greece represents danger to Yugoslavia, also. Yugoslavia will adjust its policy and will harmonize her relations with these countries according how things are going to develop : will the danger be greater or smaller. I do not know nor do I wish to say what we will undertake at the time aggression comes. We shall of course undertake all that is necessary that aggression in the Balkans does not reach its objectives."

Q. : (representative of the Wiener Kurier.) Please can you say something concerning the future relations with Austria, and particularly concerning the freeing of the rest of war prisoners which are still in Yugoslavia.

A. : " I think that the relations between Austria and Yugoslavia are fairly good and that they are improving daily, because economic cooperation is developing fully and on an equal basis. As far as the prisoners of war are concerned, there are very few of them, at the outmost ten persons who have been sentenced. Both German and Austrian prisoners we are setting free gradually regardless to the fact that they caused us enormous damage, and regardless that it concerns criminal offenders who had to answer according to our laws. We are making this sacrifice too, we pass over that which happened in the past, in order that the relations between the two countries should be as good as possible, to forget all that happened. This is all in the interest of creating as good as possible relations with Austria."

Other problems between the two countries do not exist: that which has been decided - has been decided. Yugoslavia keeps to the decisions of the Peace Treaty with Austria and our country and Austria try to eliminate in a friendly manner all that which might hinder good relations between the two countries."

The Editor of the Paris paper Aube asked Marshal Tito how he conceives in the frame-work of the policy of Peace the future relations between the Vatican and Yugoslavia?

A. : " I think that the Vatican should join also in the policy of Peace and to contribute to the appeasement in the World and in individual countries where certain difficulties exist. We have nothing against the Vatican. We have no reason to pose the question of relations between the Vatican and Yugoslavia or of some unsolved problem which might exist there. Religion in our country is free, of course in the frame-work of the laws which exist in our country. In no case can we permit that any one from the Vatican side can interfere in our internal affairs. This is the only question upon which we differ in our relations with the Vatican. We wish that these relations should be better and we have already underlined this several times. I emphasize this gain to-day that I wish that these relations should be normalised fully, because such a state of affairs cannot contribute anything positive "

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The armament of Germany and relations with the Bonn Government

The correspondent of the Western German news agency DPA asked the following question: Can you tell us something in connection with the armament of Germany?

A.: This question has been posed often from different sides, and I would like to say today a little more precisely how we look upon the question of the armament of Germany. In the first place, I would like to say that in no case should be repeated that which happened after the World War I, when Germany was held in a subjugated position for nearly 15 years, till the coming of Hitler to power. Such keeping of Germany in a subjugated position enabled that inside it elements were formed which later helped Hitler to arm Germany and to make her the strongest armed power in the world. These elements were potentiated by the policy of the Western powers in regard to Germany and Hitler made use of it.

I believe that the armament of Germany should be looked in the sense of new strivings towards democratization in the world and the protection of peace, namely that in this sense Germany should be given the possibility to be on a basis of equality with other states. If she is given equality in this or that sense and if it is considered that she should be equal with the other states, then she must be also given the right to arm. But this must not be understood wrongly, i.e. that she should be given thus the right to become militaristic, the right of Germany to arm is linked up with her democratization also. If fascism is in Germany revived, then I would be absolutely against the armament of this country. But if one wishes that Germany should be an equal member of the world community, if on her flag is written out the slogan of peaceful collaboration with all countries without strivings to enslave again other peoples and endanger democracy - then in that case I am for the armament of Germany. I am not for the excessive armament of Germany, but to arm her in that measure which is necessary to such a state as an equal member of the world community. Because we would not gain anything if we held Germany in subjugation for five, ten, or fifteen years, because in this way would come to the fore those elements which would bring about her excessive armament and the situation similar to that after the First World War.

Q.: (The representative of Radio Hamburg) "What do you think about the development of the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Yugoslavia in the economic and political field?"

A.: One can say that the relations between new Yugoslavia and Western Germany are growing better and better. The economic relations are growing closer and the ever growing economic co-operation creates conditions for the strengthening of political co-operation in all those questions which are of interest to both countries. And here are, which have been oft repeated, the mutual interests in preventing aggression and safe-guarding peace. Besides this, the development of cultural relations can contribute a great deal in the improvement of the general relations between the two countries."

The slaying of frontier guards

Q.: (The representative of the "Politika"). "In some Western papers, there were tendentious news about our country, especially about the supposed provocations by the guardians of our frontier against Cominform and Soviet soldiers. These papers spread also

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lies about a supposed resistance of some forces in our country against the people's authorities. What does Comrade Tito think who are these circles abroad who are spreading these false news and why?"

A.: "News that our frontier guards are making provocations on the borders are absolutely false. On the contrary; we do not provoke, but they. They kill our men on the frontiers. A few days ago another frontier guard fell on the Bulgarian border. Our men increasingly are losing their lives on the frontier. A malicious statement^{even} appeared also in the Western press. I think that this is a Cominform act. It is stated that our frontier guards in Medjumurje on the Yugoslav-Austrian border killed since 1948 12 Soviet soldiers and that Soviet troops withdrew 50 kilometres away from the border. This is absolutely ridiculous, because no Soviet troops were on the frontier itself and 50 kilometres away from the frontier they permanently exist. We have seen no Soviet troops on our frontier and our frontier guards did not fire at them. This is all invented. This is also one of the things which are spread abroad before the session of the United Nations in Paris in order that Yugoslavia might be presented as a country which disturbs peace. It is a pity and strange that this was brought by the Western press and because some Western news agencies reported this false news.

As far as the second part of the question is concerned, that is about those "forces" which are supposedly fighting in Yugoslavia, I would propose to you - and there is a number of you here - to search for them in Yugoslavia. Every one who discovers such a group I will reward well. It would not be even necessary to hand it over to the authorities. (Laughter)

I would like only to add another thing which will explain this spreading of false news by the capitalist press, and in which the Cominform is involved. This has been done for the reason that Vishinsky would not have much success if in the United Nations he held up "Pravda" and said: "Zdjes piset" (Here it's written). But if he takes some paper from the Western countries and shows what is written there, then he could have a fair amount of success."

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About internal problems of Yugoslavia

Q. (Journal de Centre) Do you consider that the development of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia is a unique, historic example and does it inspire the other peoples in the East who are under Soviet domination?

A. I consider that the development of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia is a unique example. It has a negative influence on the position of the Soviet Union in the countries which are under its domination, and the more we succeed on our new road of socialist build-up--not by means of terror, not by means of retaining in the hands of a small group of men all the functions, but rather by means of a broad democracy and decentralisation--the greater will be the influence of our example.

Q. (American newsman Edson) Replying to a previous question, you said that Yugoslavia is a country of socialist democracy. In the West it is often said that Yugoslavia is a Communist country, that she has a Communist government and that for this reason she should not receive any aid. Could you explain to us: Is your country still a Communist country which follows the Marxist-Leninist line or is it today developing in the direction of a socialist democracy in the Western style?

A. I am asked, is Yugoslavia still a Communist country or not? Is it worthwhile helping her if she is a Communist country and whether we should always remain to be Communists? I know that in the West the word Communist means a bugbear which unfortunately is the result of the policy which the Soviet Union is pursuing and who has compromised that concept. But because of this, we shall not renounce the idea of Communism nor would we ever renounce that idea for the sake of the aid which we are receiving. We have several times said, and I reemphasise again, that we shall not renounce it. And it would be fortunate and things would appear differently here if Yugoslavia were a Communist country because what does Communism mean? Communism means a higher phase of socialism; Communism means a social order in which men receive as much as they want. But this stage is far off. The Communist name means a symbolic name of that which is to come. We are now in the stage of building-up socialism and socialist democracy, and this is only a lower phase of Communism; we are striving towards the realisation of Communism and would that we could arrive at it as soon as possible. However, we shall not arrive at it so easily, and this will last a long time.

Q. (Representative of Paris Presse) Do you consider that the Yugoslav peoples have enough freedom, so much freedom that it need not be increased in the near future, particularly in the way of giving more freedom to public information, political criticism and syndical organisation?

A. I have not quite understood the question because we do not keep freedom locked up in a safe, freedom which we are issuing bit by bit. In our country we have a normal development of socialist build-up. We do not consider formality and obstruction to be freedom. We consider freedom to be closely connected with the economic situation, with the improvement of the standard of living, with the giving of possibility for men to live better lives,

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closely connected with participation by broadest masses in the authority and with their right to freely criticise. Freedom of criticism exists in our country. No-one can deny this to us. The economic development in our country is far ahead--I mean with respect to democracy--of the Western or any other system. We are handing the factories to the workers for management. This is democracy. This is freedom. We are not afraid of decentralising the central authority, of transferring to lower agencies, to republics and even to districts. Therein lies the essence of freedom, the essence of democracy, and not in some kind of an abstract freedom which appears on paper while men have empty stomachs and are unemployed and must think of what they will have to eat tomorrow. In our country today freedom is so developed that on this occasion I could say--and I think the question which has been asked here is being asked by many people in the West--that the men in the West do not grasp it. They are asking this question because they do not know the situation in our country, because they do not understand the socio-economic process of development of our country. And, naturally, in the light of our entire efforts towards decentralisation and a truly deeply socialist democracy, but a democracy which is not of a Western type, we are a bit hurt by being asked such a question. However, I consider that it is possible for men to convince themselves of this here in practice. And that fact that things are being criticised in our country, you who are touring our country have a chance of hearing. In our country some peasants and some workers are grumbling. But do not think that those who sometimes grumble would allow someone to destroy that which they have in Yugoslavia today. Do not believe this and do not think that it is so. Naturally, in saying this I am excluding those whose properties have been expropriated, those whose property has been taken from them and who cannot reconcile themselves with the present-day social system. But this is a revolution.

Q. (French newsman) Under the pressure of economic factors, you have had to depart a bit from your doctrines and carry out a certain liberalisation which we have detected during our tour. Is this only temporary in order to pass through this period of difficulties, and will you return to pure doctrine when there is welfare in your country?

A. We have in no way renounced our doctrine, but we have renounced the Soviet doctrine--that is to say, the Soviet practice. Consequently, it cannot be expected of us to go back because we can only go forward along the road which we have set for ourselves: creation of socialism in the way which we consider to be the most humane, the most approachable and the most possible in our country. And this is in conformity with our doctrine; this is in conformity with the teachings of Marxist, Engels and Lenin. It is not vital by what means one will arrive at the goal; the vital thing is what will be created. And our ultimate aim is the building-up of socialism.

A Swiss newsman asked whether after the economic decentralisation there would also come about a political decentralisation, in such way that autonomy of municipalities will be developed?

A. In speaking of economic decentralisation, it is wrong to speak about political decentralisation. The point at issue really is administrative decentralisation. Every one of our republics

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administers politically and culturally completely independently. Therefore, in speaking about establishment of municipalities, it is not a question of departure from the present principles. This is only a question of organisation--that is to say, a question of the organisation of the people's committees within a territorial framework of the former municipalities and not organisation of municipalities of the old type. Since now the organisational structure of management of economy is being improved more and more, because it has been proved that the former small and scattered people's committees could not work well in the organisational form in which they had been, new people's committees are being created within the framework of the territories of the former municipalities, but not any kind of new committees by their essence but rather committees which will only work on the territory of those municipalities. This is therefore only a purely territorial division for the sake of easier administrative management and nothing else. Consequently, there is no political change here at all.

Q. (French newsman Andre Ferrar) What will be the role of the workers' syndicates? Will it consist only in the syndicates being a mediator between the government and the working class for the purpose of the carrying-out of the plans and will the syndicates continue to be under the leadership of the Communist Party, or will they orient themselves towards autonomy and freedom both in relation to the Party and in relation to the state?

A. It is difficult to give a reply to this question because the question is a bit strange; namely, I must go back to that which certain men in foreign countries do not understand--to the development in our country. Today the relation of the working class, of those who work, towards the state is being completely changed. In our country the state is gradually withering away. The central administration of the state will retain only coordination and planning in principal lines. Workers in enterprises have their own plans which are in harmony with the general state plans. The workers are themselves the masters in their enterprises, and the syndicates have no function of mediation between the workers and the state. The role of the syndicate is being completely changed. The syndicates as a workers' organisation have the task of educating and re-educating of men, of elevating their cultural level and of contributing in that way towards the over-all improvement of the life of the workers and towards easier carrying-out of the functions which they have in the management of factories.

Men in the West look upon our syndical organisations as upon the syndical organisations in their own countries. But in those countries there exists a capitalist way of production and the state protects that way of production. In our country, there exists a social way of production and for this reason in our country the role of the syndicates is being completely changed. The function of the syndicates in our country is different, much greater, much more complicated than before when a capitalist system existed in the old Yugoslavia. I, too, have been a syndical official at one time, but what was our duty then as officials of syndicates? Our duty was to fight so that the workers could get higher wages, to organise strikes at places where wages were not increased, to make efforts so that the workers could get social security, sanitary and medical aid, etc. That was our basic duty at that time. Today, however, when the workers are themselves managing and deciding how labour productivity will develop in their factories and enterprises and how wages will be determined, the syndicates are participating

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in the determining of the amounts of wages of the workers. In addition, the prosperity of the factories and increase of labour productivity are also important. The syndicates have less and less to do with the state authority because the state itself introduces the laws, which are necessary, but they are fully participating in the framing of these laws. When we are making decisions on the increase of wages, we are not doing it as a result of the pressure by the syndicates. When we are giving paid annual leave, we also are not doing that as a result of the pressure from the syndicates. When we are paying out billions to our workers and pensioners, we are not doing that as a result of the pressure of the syndicates. Therefore, it is wrong to ask here the question, "When will the syndicates be free?" In our country the syndicates are freer than anywhere else in the world. They are not under the influence of the government. The interests of the syndicates, the workers and the popular authority are completely identical, and they are also identical with the general interests of the entire community. I feel it awkward to have to deliver here a speech which perhaps resembles propaganda, but I have had to describe this in a few words.

Q. (Observer correspondent) Since even in a socialist country certain sacrifices by the peoples are necessary, particularly for defense, and since often the central authority has to make certain decisions on the distribution of the national income in connection with the aims of defense of the country, I would like you to tell us something about the new wages and salaries system. If I have not understood wrongly, you had the intention to abolish all the scrips and coupons and to increase wages and salaries. But then, the government saw that there existed a danger of inflation in the country and decided not to carry-out some of those measures. Regardless of this, the prices of certain products in the country have gone up. I would like to know whether you consulted the syndicates on those measures, whether the syndicates have announced their attitude and whether the public was acquainted with the attitude of the syndicates towards these questions?

A. Here too one can see again that our realism and our newest measures have not been understood. We have not in any way changed our attitude with respect to the wages and salaries system which we are introducing. We have only postponed the carrying-out of the decisions which have been made until the beginning of January--for the same of better preparing this carrying-out. And this is an enormous job because it is a question of fixing the wages and salaries of various categories of workers and employees. Since all this was not quite ready by November 1, and we would not like to make a mistake which later on we would have to correct, we have postponed the carrying-out of the decisions until the beginning of January. But in order that the workers and employees would not have to wait for a definite decision, we are prepared to give as from November 1--that is to say, as from tomorrow--on account payments from that which the workers and employers will be getting as from the beginning of January. The decree has not yet been published but our working men will be receiving in lieu of scrips and ration cards their equivalent in ready cash. Consequently, we have not hereby either increased or decreased the wages and salaries.

As regards inflation, there can be no inflation in Yugoslavia for the reason that there exists a goods fund which is known to us and with which the monetary system too must be in harmony. We are

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now only converting the scrips into cash and instead of issuing scrips we are paying money. Instead of going to the villages and collecting from the peasants the products which then we would have to give to the town population and to the workers, we are giving to the workers and employees money so that they themselves can buy from the peasants these products freely on the market.

Prices of certain products have gone down as much as 15, 25 and 30 percent. The prices of lard, meat, maize and other products have also dropped. Maize has already reach the level of prewar prices. Therefore, there is no danger at all for our men to be unable to buy those things which they need. Already now there are such quantities of agricultural products, such a number of pigs, etc. on the markets that the peasants are unable to sell them. This shows that we were right in introducing the new method of supplying our citizens. Therefore, when the new decree is introduced, no change will take place because we are already now giving money in lieu of scrips and ration cards. And when the decree enters into force, only the wages and salaries will then finally be determined and certain mistakes in their amounts corrected. The government must pay attention that the general sum of money in circulation is in harmony with the existing goods fund because otherwise there can be an inflation. If the goods fund is increased, the prices will go down, and if this fund is reduced, the prices will go up and this we must prevent. We must be the regulator of the balance between the circulation of money and the existing goods fund. This is the essence of this question. Therefore, it is not necessary for me to try to convince anyone here that we have consulted the syndicates on this because in Yugoslavia no measure is introduced without a very active participation by the syndicates. Not only that the syndicates have participated in this, but this has also been the subject of public discussion. In connection with this we have received a mass of proposals and we shall now frame the new decree.

Now that we are speaking of the falling of prices, I would like to add that the state too has lowered the prices of certain industrial products in harmony with the existing goods fund. The prices of the following goods have been reduced by 10 to 25 percent: sugar, textiles, furniture, leather, footwear and other goods. Our general policy is to lower the prices parallel with the increase of the goods fund, thus to maintain the standard of living on the same level until such time as we are again able to elevate it.

Q. (Correspondent of Oslovođenje) The agricultural cooperative movement is extraordinarily important for our socialist build-up. However, just recently there have been more and more frequent attacks on our cooperatives, not only by the Cominform but also by certain circles in the West. There is a systematic campaign being conducted in that direction. What is the aim of this campaign, particularly the campaign conducted in the West?

A. The question of the cooperative movement in Yugoslavia has this year become the subject of a campaign conducted by certain circles in the West and by the Cominform as a whole. Why are those in the West conducting a campaign against our socialist methods, against the creation of socialist cooperative farms? This is understandable. We know very well that in the West there are men who tolerate such a socialist state, who have reconciled themselves with the fact that the peoples in Yugoslavia have the right to

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themselves build their own way of life--but we know that there are also such men who have not reconciled themselves with this, who do not like this and who exploit our every difficulty, when it crops up, for speaking of how socialism is no good in order thus to discredit that which we are doing. This is the attitude of those circles in the West who do not like socialism. It is interesting to note that they are on the same line as the Soviet Union, only their motives are different. The Soviet Union is making all efforts so that we should suffer failure with every socialist measure which we introduce in order thus to prove that that which they have been saying and which they have been saying every day now in their propaganda--namely, that with the Soviet Union, we cannot build socialism. Naturally, they rejoice over every one of our difficulties.

And what difficulties exist in our country? Here too I will have to say some more things. This year we have about 20 percent of peasant households as members of our cooperatives. Last year's drought hit our peasants very badly and the cooperatives were not in any particularly better position. This was one of the reasons for this propaganda to fall on fruitful soil with certain of our men. Otherwise, we have, in organising the cooperative movement, created three types of cooperatives. The first type is not collectivisation at all but only association for the purpose of joint cultivation of land. The third degree has been the highest type of cooperative in which the land, the livestock and other things, with the exception of the house and homestead, is common property. We have given from above the proper instructions for the creation of cooperatives, but down below proper action has not always been taken. Certain men have been too zealous and they have tried to push all the peasants to join the higher type of cooperative, regardless of the fact that everything was not prepared, either from the technical point of view or otherwise, and now these cooperatives which from their very beginning were not fit for life have had to experience crises, particularly in the poorer regions of the country. We censor those men who have been creating cooperatives even in those places where conditions for them did not exist, in places where only small scattered farms existed, because those cooperatives had existed only thanks only to the aid from the state. However, it is interesting to note that in certain rich parts of the country also there are men who today would like to leave the cooperatives. This has come about because on the one hand attention has not always been paid to the question of who will join the cooperatives, so that certain hostile elements have joined the cooperatives and are now undermining them, on the other hand, thanks to the propaganda conducted by hostile elements outside the cooperatives in the country and abroad. There are even such men who earn as much as 1000 dinars a day and who now are filing petitions to leave the cooperatives.

Both the Cominform and the Western presses have exploited the filing of applications for leaving cooperatives as reason for starting a propaganda campaign against our cooperatives, and under their influence, the enemies of our country have also started lifting their heads. There is another reason why in some places the members of the cooperatives have not been content. It is the question of internal organisation which has not been a proper one so that those who have been managing the cooperatives have created a considerable amount of ill will with the members of the cooperatives. Another fault is, to a certain extent, that we have not been able until now to extend sufficient technical means to the cooperatives for

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easier cultivation of land. There were cases where cooperatives had been created and the members of the cooperatives still had to use wooden ploughs and hoes, which means that in such cooperatives people did not see the benefit promised to them at the beginning. And it is just for this reason that we knew that there would be such cases that we decided to form three types of cooperatives rather than one. Unfortunately, those men who have been carrying out our decisions have here and there made mistakes.

These are the elements who have acted so that in certain places the cooperative movement has begun to shake, but, however, these are only individual cases. For this reason we have said: Stop, the cooperatives are a question of life for our socialist country because revolution applies to all--both to the village and to the town. If we are giving the factories into the hands of the workers in order to turn out more industrial products, we must also see to it that our agriculture is elevated to a higher level of cultivation. We have decided to help the cooperatives by technical means and to make it impossible for the enemies to break them up. But we shall not continue forcing the question of formation of cooperatives until conditions for their further development are ripe, until there are enough means. We are not forcing this question today, but cooperatives are still being founded. This is the position of the cooperative movement in our country today, and when we have enough technical means, we shall go further and extend these means to the peasants so that they can jointly cultivate the land with machines and other tools. But soil cannot be cultivated with tractors when a two-metre-wide boundary between plots exists. The soil must be joined together in order that the tractor can be used.

And now that we are speaking of cooperative movement in our country, of the form of collectivisation, I ask you what was done in England in the 18th Century when meadows and fields were taken from the peasants and turned into pastureland in order that sheep could graze there, sheep which gave wool for industry, while the peasants had to go to work in factories. In England, the land belonging to the peasants was thus expropriated, and we are not acting that way. We are giving land to the peasant in order that he can cultivate it in a better way. And what was happening in America in the 19th and even the 20th Century, when big capitalist companies collectivised land by taking it away from the peasants in order to cultivate it in a better way? This means that both in England and in America there was a need for the creation of big agricultural farms since industry was quickly developing and it was necessary to get more agricultural products so that those men who were working in the factories could live. In this way, the aim was achieved in those two countries of cultivating the land with modern means and of producing more articles. We are doing this in our own way, in a different way, but we still lack technical means in order to attain full success. In this work of ours, we shall not act in a draconic way, as was the case there in those two countries, and for this reason we have difficulties.

At the end of the conference, Marshall Tito expressed the hope that his meeting with representatives of the press would contribute still more towards their acquaintance with the real state of affairs in our country. He wished the foreign newsmen to feel at home in Yugoslavia, and our men will help them to acquaint themselves with everything they want in our country because we have nothing to hide from the outside world.

(BORBA - 1st November, 1951)

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INSTRUCTIONS ON COMPENSATION OF WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES FOR COST OF FARES

According to the instructions on reimbursing workers and employees engaged in economic enterprises and economic associations for their outlays for tramcar and other fares, these reimbursements will amount maximum to 800 dinars per month. Entitled to such reimbursements will be only workers and employees residing at least four kilometers from their enterprises, provided their total outlays for fares amount at least 400 dinars per month at the new increased fares.

Entitled to this reimbursement are also workers and employees residing outside of the seat of their enterprises even if their tramcar and other fares have not been increased, provided their monthly transportation tickets cost them in excess of 250 dinars.

Monthly outlays of 400 dinars and in excess of 250 dinars for fares at the previously existing tariffs are to be considered as regular outlays which are not to be reimbursed to workers and employees.

(BORBA, November 1, 1951.)

ETBIN KRISTAN IN BELGRADE

(Belgrade, 31st October)

Yesterday Etbin Kristan, well-known American writer of Slovenian descent and veteran of the Trade Union movement, travelled to Belgrade from Zagreb. He will spend some days in Belgrade as the guest of the Central Committee of the Federal Syndicates of Yugoslavia.

Etbin Kristan visited our country in June of this year.
(Tanjug)

(BORBA - 1st November, 1951).